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BALANGAO PHONEMES

JO SHETLER

1. Word.
2. Syllable.
3. Phoneme:
 - 3.1 Interpretation of questionable items and sequences
 - 3.2 Contrasts and variations of consonants
 - 3.3 Contrasts and variations of vowels
 - 3.4 Accent.

1. PHONOLOGICAL WORD

A Balango word is one or more syllables occurring between pauses.

Within words, allophonic variations occur which do not occur across word boundaries. The phoneme l has two allophones, [r] and [l]. Word initially only the [l] allophone occurs. Word medially between non-front vowels, only the [r] allophone occurs. In the following examples both [l] and [r] occur between non-front vowels: in the first example a word boundary separates [l] from the preceding vowel, and in the second example there is no word boundary.

[qa'tšina lay'tšin]¹ 'neg-he like', 'He doesn't like it.'
[qa'ram hen 'farat] 'get-you the banana', 'You get the banana.'

All words are distributed in the larger units of phrases, clauses, and/or sentences.

2. SYLLABLE

A syllable consists of an obligatory onset and peak with an optional coda.² The onset and coda are filled by consonants and the peak is filled by a vowel. The consonants (C) and the vowels (V) occur in two basic syllable patterns, CV and CVC. 'qaho 'dog', lu'wang 'carabao'. Consonants w, y occurring as a syllable onset are lenis following a vowel of the same quality occurring as a syllable peak u, i.

bu'wɔ 'betel nut', qabuni'yan 'creator'.

Consonant clusters are formed word medially by a closed syllable preceding another syllable. When the final consonant of the first syllable is velar and the initial consonant of the second syllable is non-velar, open transition occurs between the two syllables.

qimig'yat 'to be afraid'; 'bokbok'kal 'round'.

Certain restrictions govern syllable formation: neither *i* and *y* nor *u* and *w* co-occur in the same syllable. Two types of morphophonemic change take place to avoid these formations:

(1) Normal vowel loss does not occur upon affixation. bi'y^hal + -in > *biy'lin > biy^hal'lin 'goiter'.

(2) *i* becomes *e* upon prefixation of *qi-*. (*q* becoming *y* is a morphophonemic change) qi'y^hab + qi- > *qiyi'y^hab > qiye'y^hab 'to fan'. Another restriction is that sequences *ey* and *ow* do not occur in the same syllable.

Syllables are distributed in the larger units of words.

3. PHONEME

There are 22 phonemes in Balangao. Consonants are *p*, *t*, *k*, *q* (glottal stop), *b*, *d*, *g*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *s*, *l*, *w*, *y*. Vowels are *i*, *e*, *i*, *ɪ*, *a*, *u*, *o*. Word accent is also a phonemic feature of the dialect.

3.1 Interpretation of questionable items and sequences.

The high vocoids [i] and [u] are interpreted as: (1) vowels *i* and *u* when they occur as syllable peaks; and (2) consonants *y* and *w* when they occur as syllable onset or coda, thus fitting the two basic non-suspect CV patterns.

dit'qal 'floor', du'mang 'other side', 'yato 'this', la'weng 'bad', hay'duq 'fish net', 'tongaw 'to stay home'.

High vocoids [i] and [u] occurring as syllable onsets are lenis and, in fast speech, phonetically not detectable when following a peak vocoid of the same quality. [si'¹Δm] 'nine', [tsu'^uΔ] 'two'. The sequences [-i.i-] and [-u.u-] are interpreted as *i.y* and *u.w* (period indicates syllable boundaries) to fit the non-suspect CV patterns. Further evidence in support of this interpretation is seen when morphophonemic changes cause the peak vocoid in question to drop. The onset vocoid is then clearly distinguished. In the following example the morphophonemic change is reduplication of the first syllable and the dropping of the vowel of the resulting second syllable. [si-] plus [si'¹Δm] becomes [sis'yΔm] 'nine each'.

The high vocoid [ü] is interpreted as consonant *y* since it occurs only in the coda position of a syllable following the high vowel *u*. Vocoid [i] never occurs in this position. 'babuy 'pig'.

The sequences [k^h] and [tš] occur in single C slots and are interpreted as single phonemes to fit the non-suspect CV patterns. ['k^hipan] 'small knife', [tšu'mang] 'other side'.

All consonants may carry length. They are interpreted as two phonemes to fit the non-suspect CV patterns, and occur only word medially between two peaks, forming the coda for one syllable and the onset for the next syllable. Long consonants contrast with non-lengthened consonants. (See section 3.2.)

All vowels may carry length and are interpreted as a geminate cluster. Therefore, a new syllable pattern is interpreted at this point in which the syllable onset becomes optional; V and VC patterns may occur. Geminate clusters contrast with single vowels (see section 3.3).

3.2 Contrasts and variations of consonants. Bilabial consonants *b*, *p*, *w* contrast as follows in syllable initial and syllable final positions: 'baqaw 'corn', 'paqaw 'handle', 'waqah 'tomorrow'; 'halab 'to burn', 'qalaw 'a tree', 'qolap 'night blindness'.

The alveolar consonants *t*, *d*, *l*, *s*, *y*, and velar *h* contrast as follows in syllable initial and syllable final positions: 'talo 'to hide', 'dala 'blood', 'lana 'oil', sa'bun 'soap', 'yasa 'nevermind', 'halep 'dance'; ha'ngat 'lunch', ba'ngad 'to return', ba'ngal 'beads', pa'ngas 'naughtiness', teg'qangay 'nearly', 'langah 'camote vine'.

The velar consonants *k*, *g*, *h*, *q* contrast as follows in syllable initial position: 'kahoy 'a root', 'gahal 'sand', 'halep 'dance', 'qalin 'be affected'. They contrast with each other and with the absence of a consonant as follows in syllable final position: 'tokak 'frog', to'kag 'monkey', qas'sekaq 'filth', 'qagah 'medicine', 'baka 'cow'.

The nasal consonants *m*, *n*, *ng* contrast as follows in syllable initial and syllable final positions: loma'yaw 'to leave', tena'lem 'your bracelet', tonga'lan 'to put the bone'; qa'mam 'your father', la'man 'flesh', du'mang 'other side'.

Long consonants contrast with short consonants as follows: *p* and *pp* qa'poq 'my grandfather', qap'poq 'rice bran'; *t* and *tt* qu'ten 'body organ', qut'teng 'baby'; *k* and *kk* qe'kan 'fish', qok'kon 'puppy'; *q* and *qq* ha'qin 'I',

qihəq'qən 'one'; b and bb qi'big 'a name', qib big 'bed'; d and dd qo'dəw 'to beg', had'dən 'wait for'; g and gg qibə'gən 'to tell', qag'gəm 'sleeping house'; w and ww qadi'wəy 'far', qədəw'wəy 'a name'; y and yy ka'bayu 'horse', ka'bəyju 'type of betel nut'; l and ll 'bulig 'to carry', 'billig 'a barrio'; s and ss ko'sa 'cat', qis'sə 'to eat'; h and hh bə'hug 'full', luh'hub 'shoe'; m and mm loma'yəw 'he goes', lomma'yəw 'he went'; n and nn qi'naq 'my mother', qin'naq 'no'; ng and ngng bo'ngat 'to bite', beng ngat 'has bitten'.

Consonants consist of two series of stops, a series of nasals, a set of semivowels, a set of fricatives, and a lateral.

The stops in one series are unaspirated, voiceless, and when occurring syllable final, are normally unreleased. They occur at the bilabial, front alveolar, back velar, and glottal points of articulation. p pa'dug 'seedbed', 'qolap 'night blindness'; t to'kag 'monkey', 'balat 'banana'; k ka'sole 'bird', 'qutak 'brain'; q 'qalo 'pestle', ma taq 'my eye'.

The second series of stops has two sets of allophones, voiced and voiceless. The voiced allophones occur at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation. These stops occur only as syllable coda. The voiceless allophones occur as a labiodental fricative, an alveopalatal grooved affricate, and an aspirated front velar stop. They occur only as syllable onset. b [b] bub'qula 'ball', [f] 'banga 'clay pot'; d [d] mad'qən 'old woman', [tʃ] 'daqig 'door hook'; g [g] qag'gəm 'sleeping house', [kʰ] gə'dang 'straight'.

Nasals occur at bilabial, alveolar, and back velar points of articulation. m ma'noq 'chicken', mal'qum 'to be ripe'; n no 'if', 'gipan 'small knife'; ng nga'yug 'coconut', gi'ngang 'to stop'.

Semivowels are voiced and occur at bilabial and alveolar points of articulation. The bilabial semivowel has only one allophone: w high close back rounded vocoid, wang'wang 'river', maq'wəw 'to be thirsty'. The alveolar semivowel has two allophones: y [y] a high close front rounded vocoid occurring only as syllable coda following u, 'babuy 'pig', [ɣ] a high close front unrounded vocoid occurring in other environments, 'yasa 'nevermind', 'langtay 'bridge'.

Fricative consonants are voiceless. The grooved fricative occurs at the alveolar point of articulation, s sa'bun 'soap', 'qapəs 'envy'. The non-grooved fricative has two allophones: h [h] a pharyngeal fricative occurring only word

final, 'qagah 'medicine'; [h] a glottal fricative occurring non-final in words, 'halang 'pine', bi'hal 'appearance'.

The lateral consonant is voiced and has two allophones; l [l] a lateral continuant which occurs word initially and in alveolar environments. An alveolar environment is defined as: (1) contiguous to a front vowel; (2) a preceding alveolar consonant in a consonant cluster; (3) a front vowel preceding a non-alveolar consonant in a consonant cluster.

'lima 'hand'; 'bali 'storm'; pos'laqet 'flashl. 'flooded', manla'yad 'to be happy', layla'yadna 'his happiness', kallon'tay 'rubber band'; dip'lat 'wall board', meqla'yaw 'to go with'. [r] a mid-central retroflexed vocoid which occurs word medially and finally and in non-alveolar environments: qa'bal 'to weave', 'haplat 'to spank'.

3.3 Contrasts and variations of vowels. High vowels i, ɨ, u contrast as follows: qig'gay 'did not', qɨg'nɔn 'hold', qug'hɔ 'deer'; bi'dong 'bladder', bi'hal 'appearance', bu'yuy 'boil'.

Mid vowels e, ʌ, o contrast as follows: le'ngat 'sweat', lɔ'nga 'a bean', lo'ngidɨn 'to bend back'; te'balo 'bamboo pot', tɔ'laq 'kind of bark', to'bayag 'lime bottle'.

Front vowels i, e contrast as follows: 'qimeng 'whiskers', 'qemot 'bottom'; 'bali 'storm', ta'le 'rope'.

Central vowels ɨ, ʌ, a contrast as follows: qɔ'nɔn 'to increase', qɨ'nɨm 'six', qa'naq 'child of'; qɔ'nɔd 'earlier', qɨ'nɨb 'door', qa'mɔh 'to bathe'.

Back vowels u, o contrast as follows: 'qoto 'louse', 'quto 'to cook'; qut'teng 'baby', qot'tem 'immature rice'.

Lengthened vowels generally occur in one syllable words, which are relatively few.³ Upon the morphophonemic change of the addition of a suffix, beginning with a central vowel, to a word ending with a central vowel, vowel length of the quality of the suffix occurs. lan'sa + -ɨn > lan'siɨn 'to nail it'. Contrast of lengthened vowels with non-lengthened vowels is as follows: i and ii bin'hal 'to blacksmith', 'biin 'shame'. e and ee pahet'nɨn 'to fatten', 'heet 'to sharpen', ɨ and ɨɨ qim'big 'to lie down', 'qiɨm 'a weed'. ʌ and ʌʌ wɔh'di 'each one', 'wɔʌh 'trodden grass'. a and aa qa'gahan 'to medicate', qa'gaahɨn 'to get grass'. u and uu buq'tan 'to close', 'buuq 'hair'. o and oo qu'pop 'to shut', qu'poop 'bellows'.

All vowels are voiced. The high and central vowels have no additional allophones. i high close front unrounded vocoid, ma'qid 'none'; u high close back rounded vocoid,

qu'du 'sky'; $\dot{\text{i}}$ high close central unrounded vocoid, q $\dot{\text{i}}$ 'd $\dot{\text{ig}}$ 'back'; Λ mid close central unrounded vocoid, b Λ 'yah 'wine'; a low open central unrounded vocoid, ma'ta 'eye'.

Mid close front unrounded e has two allophones. Mid open [e^ə] occurs only preceding ng and k, 'quheng 'charcoal', 'wewek 'dimple'. Mid close [e] occurs in all other environments, teq'g Λ d 'flint stone'.

Mid close back rounded vocoid o has two allophones. Mid close back-central [o^ɐ] occurs only in unaccented open syllables following b, d, g: bo'loqoq 'a fruit', do'pol 'ashes', go'lot 'dirt'. Mid close back [o] occurs in all other environments, 'podot 'warm'.

Phonemes are distributed in the larger units of syllables.

3.4 Accent is contrastive on the word level in the Balangao phonemic system. It is described in detail in the paper, "The Obscuring of Word Accent in Balangao".⁴

NOTES

1. All examples are written in phonemic script unless bracketted, indicating phonetic script.
2. The terms "onset", "peak", and "coda" are taken from Hockett, Charles F., *A Manual of Phonology*, IJAL 21, No.4, IUPAL (1955), pp.126-7.
3. These words resist normal morphophonemic change and, in neighbouring dialects, a glottal stop separates two like vowels which occur in words where vowel length occurs in Balangao. 'heet would be 'heget 'to sharpen'. However, in the dialect described in this paper, the glottal stop seldom occurs.
4. Shetler, Jo and Hopkins, Anne Fetzner, "The Obscuring of Word Accent in Balangao", *Oceanic Linguistics* 3:101-9 (1964).

TAGALOG -um- and mag-

AN INTERIM REPORT

RICHARD PITTMAN

In a 13-page bulletin entitled "Scope and Uses of the Verbal Affixes -um- and mag-" the Filipino Language Section of the Instruction Division of the Philippines Bureau of Public Schools, summarizing the *Balarila* (official grammar) treatment of the subject, has compiled a first-class document of data on a major grammatico-lexical contrast which is but little known to speakers of European languages. This paper, identified as "Bulletin No.2 of the 1950 series" of the Department of Education's Bureau of Public Schools, contains a collection of contrastively organized evidence and illustrations which would dignify any structural grammar.

It seems desirable to add to the description, however, both a summary of its information and some grammatical notes which, though implicit in the illustrations, are not explicit in the document. These notes will, it is hoped, add a useful supplement to what is already a very valuable paper.¹ It must be added, however, that both the original paper and this summary suffer from incomplete transformation studies. We believe these to be indispensable to a satisfactory treatment of this subject. For that reason we have chosen to call this an "interim report". It will be useful as a suggestive guide to those who do the transform studies later.

Nearly all of the illustrations which follow are from the bulletin. The present author accepts responsibility, however, for the interpretations.

First, a brief summary must be made of the behaviour of -um- and mag-.

¹ The author is indebted to Dr Rufino Alejandro for a number of useful suggestions and additions to the present paper. An earlier version of it was read at the 1964 meeting, in Canberra, of the Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science. Special appreciation is due to my wife for alphabetizing and typing the entries, and to Mrs Mabel Pears for typing the manuscript.

-um- is a verbal infix which occurs immediately following the first consonant of a word base. The past tense of the verb and the imperative and infinitive modes consist of this arrangement. **bumilí** 'bought; buy; to buy' (from **bilí** 'to trade' plus **-um-**).

Word-initial glottal stop is not written, so words which appear in the standard orthography as beginning with **-um-** actually begin with glottal stop (**q**). Thus **qumulan** 'it rained' is written **umulan**. Penultimate stress is unmarked; other stress is marked with an acute accent. Grave accent marks word-final glottal; circumflex is stress plus glottal.

Future tense of **-um-** verbs consists of the verb stem, without **-um-**, plus reduplication of the first CV of the word base. **bumilí** 'to buy'; **bibilí** 'will buy'; **bumagsak** 'to drop'; **babagsak** 'will drop'.

Reduplication with **-um-** gives present tense. **bumibilí** 'buys; is buying'.

The present tense of stems beginning with glottal stop is no different from those beginning with other consonants: **qumuqulan** 'it is raining', but it looks different in standard orthography because both **q**'s are unwritten: **umuulan**.

mag- is **ag-** plus a nasal consonant which could be represented by a capital letter: **Mag-**. The reason for this is that a nasal component is always present, but it is **n** for non-future and **m-** for non-past and contemporary past.

nag- plus word base gives past tense. **nagbilí** 'sold'. Word-base-initial glottal stop is conventionally written with a hyphen when it occurs following **g**. **nag-abót** 'handed'.

mag- plus word base gives infinitive, imperative, and "contemporary" tense in subordinate clauses. **magbilí ka** 'you sell'. **Nagalit si Tatay nang ako'y mag-alis ng sapatos** 'Father got angry when I removed my shoes'.

nag- plus reduplication of the first CV of the word base gives present, customary, or continuous past. **nagbíbilí** 'is, was selling'.

mag- plus reduplication of the first CV of the word base is future tense. **magbíbilí** 'will sell'.

Some verb bases may occur with **-um-** but not with **mag-**, some with **mag-** but not with **-um-**, some with either **-um-** or **mag-**, a few with both **-um-** and **mag-**.

The following outline will summarize the subdivisions. Note, in reading it, that the numbers refer to numbered paragraphs of examples which follow.

I. -um- vs. mag- on identical stems:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1.1 Non-reflexive | 1.2 Reflexive |
| 2.1 Non-causative | 2.2 Causative |
| 3.1 Centripetal | 3.2 Centrifugal |
| 4.1 Non-dual and non-reciprocal | 4.2 Dual or Reciprocal |
| 5.1 Non-repetitive | 5.2 Repetitive |
| 6.1 Intrinsic colour change | 6.2 External colour application |

II. -um- vs. mag- on different stems:

-um-

mag-

Source

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 7.1 Impersonal actions | 7.2 Personal and occupational actions |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|

Manner

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 8.1 Gestural | 8.2 Verbal |
| 9.1 Physical | 9.2 Emotional and Intensive |

Quality

- | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|
| 10.1 Impulsive | 10.2 Deliberate (Volitional) |
|----------------|------------------------------|

Rank

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 11.1 Creative | 12.2 Secondary |
| 12.1 Elementary | 13.2 Progressive |
| 13.1 Regressive | 15.2 Constructive |
| 14.1 Multiplicational | |
| 15.1 Destructive | |

Adjunct

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 16.1 Locational | 16.2 Instrumental |
|-----------------|-------------------|

Quantity

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 18.1 Partitive | 17.2 Numeral |
| | 18.2 Distributive |

III. mag- plus -um in tandem:

19. Augmentative.

I. -um- vs. mag- on identical stems

1. Of the verbs that may occur with either -um- or mag-, the following are reflexive when occurring with mag-, non-

reflexive when occurring with **-um-**. Those occurring with **-um-** are also, in all examples given, nominalized verbs, whereas those occurring with **mag-** are finite verbs.

1.1 *Non-reflexive*

gumupít to cut with a pair of scissors

gumamót to treat illness

umalíw to console others

umahit to shave others

sumanay to train others

kumamot to scratch

bumigtí to strangle (transitive)

kumurò to think

umisip to think

1.2 *Reflexive*

maggupít to do cutting work with a pair of scissors

maggamót to treat one's self for an illness

mag-alíw to enjoy one's self

mag-ahit to shave one's self

magsanay to train one's self

magkamót to scratch one's self (intensively)

magbigtí to commit suicide by hanging

magkurò to reflect

mag-isip to think intensively

2. The following verb bases are causative when occurring with **-um-**.

2.1 *Non-causative*

pumanhik to enter

umalís to leave

bumitíw to free one's hold

tumakas to escape

tumiwalág to leave a group; to sever one's connection

pumasok to enter

lumakad to walk

2.2 *Causative*

magpanhík to bring upstairs

mag-alís to remove

magbitíw to resign from office

magtakas to escape with something or someone

magtiwalág to remove from office

magpasok to bring in, to enrol, to help land a job

maglakad to hand-carry (e.g. papers)

3. The action of the following verb bases is centripetal (moving goal toward actor) when occurring with **-um-**, centrifugal (removing goal from actor) when occurring with **mag-**.

3.1 *Centripetal*

bumilí to buy

umabót to reach for

umamot to buy a part or portion of what someone else has bought

3.2 *Centrifugal*

magbilí to sell

mag-abót to hand over

mag-amot to sell a part or portion of what one has bought

4. The following verb bases have action which is dual or reciprocal (two subjects acting jointly or each on the other) when marked by **mag-**, non-dual and non-reciprocal transitive when marked by **-um-**.

4.1 Non-dual and non-reciprocal

sumalo to join another
bumati to greet another
kumamáy to shake hands with someone
sumapì to join or be a member of
sumiping to come near somebody
kumita to earn, to have a job

4.2 Dual or reciprocal

magsalo to share
magbatì to greet each other
magkamáy to shake hands with each other
magsapì to join in a partnership in business or any enterprise
magsiping to lie down near each other
magkita to see each other, to meet each other accidentally

5. Some verb bases display repetitive or intensive action when occurring with **mag-** in contrast to non-repetitive or less intensive action when occurring with **-um-**.

5.1 Non-repetitive

kumain to eat
bumasa to read
sumulat to write

5.2 Repetitive

magkain to eat often
magbasa to study
magsulat to write much

I am indebted to Professor Tomas Aguirre for this set of contrasts.

6. Colour words, when occurring with **mag-**, mean 'to wear' a given colour. When occurring with **-um-** they mean 'to become' that colour.

6.1 Intrinsic colour change

dumiláw to turn yellow
pumulá to turn red
umitím to turn black

6.2 External colour application

mag-ilaw to wear yellow
magpulá to wear red
mag-itim to wear black

A seventh subset - *accidental vs. intentional* - should probably be identified, but because only one example - **pumatay** vs. **magpatay** 'to kill' is in our material, it has been included in paragraph 10.

II. -um- vs. mag- on different stems

In the much more numerous examples of word bases which occur with either **-um-** or **mag-** but not both, comparison is not so simple as it is with those on which **-um-** and **mag-** contrast. No doubt transform tests will reveal, in many cases, the relevant patterns. The division followed in this paper, however, has at least the benefit of the considerable quantity of examples from the original paper to support the analysis here proposed.

"Physical" entries are considered to include not only those actions which characterize non-human animals, but also human activity which is viewed as arising from other than rational causes. Impersonal-action verbs are regarded as contrasting with the distinctively human actions listed under "Personal".

The notoriously elusive nature of lexical analysis makes it good that a 3-way check can be kept on this part of the **-um-/mag-** description:

(1) The contrastive occurrence of **-um-** and **mag-** on different verb stems.

(2) A vertical lexical consistency throughout each subset (substitution list) of **-um-** or **mag-**, contrasting with

(3) A distinctive lexical consistency throughout each subset of the other side of the **-um-/mag-** opposition. Some, such as 11, 14, and 17, contrast with their own absence.

7. Some uses of **-um-** and/or **mag-** are no doubt derivational. All eight of the impersonal verbs in 7.1, for example, are paralleled by corresponding nouns without **-um-**. The extent to which this may be true of the rest of the data will need to be determined by transform tests. Note that the **-um-/mag-** contrast in the following paragraphs is between subsets of verbs rather than single verbs.

7.1 Impersonal actions

gumabí to grow late (in the afternoon)
humangin to blow (wind)
kumidlát to flash (lightning)
kumulóg to thunder
lumindól to quake
tumanghalì to grow late (in the morning)

7.2 Personal and occupational actions

mag-anluwagi to be a carpenter
mag-artista to be an actor
magbigás to deal in rice
mag-embahadór to be an ambassador
maghenerál to be a general
maghepe to be a chief

umaraw to shine (sun)
umulán to rain

maghuwés to be a judge
mag-isdâ to deal in fish
magkahoy to deal in lumber
magkalikim to be a secretary
magkutsero to be a rig driver
magmakatà to be a poet
magpangulo to be a president
magparè to be a priest

MANNER

8.1 Gestural

bumalikwás to spring out of bed
dumilat to open wide the eyes
humalakhák to laugh loudly
kumawág to move hands and legs as in swimming
kumundáy to move the hand
lumuhód to kneel
lumundág to jump
ngumangá to open the mouth
ngumisi to grin
ngumití to smile
pumayag to agree
pumikít to close the eyes
sumulyáp to glance
tumanáw to look in the distance
tumangô to nod (yes)
tumapak to step (on ground)
tumawa to laugh
tumingalâ to look up
tumingín to look at
tumuntóng to step (up)
umibag to jump to avoid
umilag to dodge
umilíng to shake the head 'no'
yumukód to bow

9.1 Physical

bumahín to sneeze
dumahák to spit phlegm
dumuwál to retch (vomit)
kumagát to bite

8.2 Verbal

magbadyâ to speak
magbalitâ to furnish
magbantâ to threaten
magbintáng to suspect
maghayág to reveal
maghingá to unburden
magkailâ to deny
magkánuló to betray
magparatang to accuse
magsabi to tell
magsakdál to file a complaint
magsalitâ to talk
magsumbóng to tell on a person
magsuplóng to denounce
magtapát to tell the truth
magwikà to say

9.2 Emotional

magbatá to suffer, bear, endure
magdamdám to feel (a remark)
magdusa to grieve, suffer

lumunók to swallow
ngumuyâ to chew
sumingá to blow one's nose
sumuka to vomit
tumakám to hanker for something
tumangis to weep
tumayô to stand
tumigil to stop
tumikím to taste
umamóy to smell
umiyák to cry
umubó to cough
umupô to sit

maglambíng to be foolishly nice or tender
magtampó to sulk
magtiís to suffer, bear, endure
mag-upasalà to vituperate, blame abusively

QUALITY

10.1 *Impulsive*

dumamay to aid (a person in sorrow or bereavement)
gumiliw to love
lumimot to forget
sumaklolo to aid (a person in danger or mishap)
sumalungát to contradict, disagree
sumamò to plead, entreat
tumulong to help
tumanggí to reject, decline
tumutol to protest
umasa to hope
umayon to conform, agree
umibig to love

10.2 *Deliberate (Volitional)*

mag-akalà to suspect
mag-alaala to worry
mag-aral to study
magbantáy to guard, keep watch
magbilin to order, request
maghatíd to conduct, convey, escort
magkutà to entrench
maglakbáy to tour
maglayág to sail
maglibáng to amuse
maglutò to cook
magsayáw to dance
magsikáp to be diligent
magsimbá to go to church
magsuri to analyze

Note also **-um** vs. **mag-** on **patáy**:

pumatáy to kill

magpatáy to kill (e.g. a chicken for a feast)

Some forms in this class occur primarily in passive (goal-focus with **-in**) rather than active (actor-focus with **-um-**) voice:

alalahanin to remember
tikisín to spite

magtanggól to defend
magwarì to meditate, consider

RANK

11. *Creative*

bumuhay to bring to life
bumuô to create completely,
 put together
yumari to finish, to construct

12.1 *Elementary*

bumukál to spring up (water)
bumalong to ooze out
bumahâ to flood
dumilím to grow dark
kumulimlím to be cloudy
lumagô to grow luxuriantly
lunitáw to appear
lumiwanag to brighten up (sky)
lumubog to set, disappear
 (sun, moon)
sumibol to germinate
sumikat to rise (sun)
sumipót to appear, show up
 (at a place)
tumubò to sprout
umagos to flow
umaliwalas to clear up
umuntol to be retarded
umusbóng to sprout, bud

13.1 *Regressive*

dumalang to become sparse, to
 diminish in frequency
lumiít to become small
numipís to become thin
pumayát to grow thin
umiklî to become short
umimpís to become deflated
kumauntî to decrease

12.2 *Secondary*

mag-apóy to burn hot
mag-asín to make salt, sell
 salt, turn into salt
magbató to harden like stone
magdugô to bleed
maglamán to grow flesh
maglupà to turn into soil
magnaknák to fill with pus
magputik to become muddy
magsugat to develop into a
 wound
magtubig to turn watery
mag-ugát to grow roots

13.2 *Progressive*

magbaging to grow vines
magbalát to grow a skin
magbatis to turn into a spring
magbunga to bear fruit
magdahon to grow leaves
mag-ilog to turn into a river
maglawà to turn into a pool
magpalong to grow a cockscomb
magsangá to grow branches
magsungay to grow horns
magtiník to grow thorns
mag-uhay to bear grain
mag-usbóng to grow shoots

14. *Multiplicational and Inversive*

All of these verbs except **gumising**, **tumubò** and **bumangon** have adjective transforms in which a **ma-** prefix replaces the

-um- infix. The adjective form of **gumising** is **gisíng**; of **tumubò** it is **tubò**. The corresponding form of **bumangon** is **nakabangon**. Very few of the **mag-** verbs appear to have adjective transforms.

bumaít to become good
bumangon to get up
bumuti to become good
dumalás to occur frequently
dumami to become many
gumalíng to get well
gumaspáng to become coarse
gumising to wake up
huminà to become weak
humabà to become long, to stretch (as a rubber band)
kumapál to become thick
lumakás to become strong
lumakí to grow big
lumalâ to worsen
lumupít to become cruel
pumaít to become bitter
pumintóg to swell, bulge, become inflated
pumutî to turn gray (hair), to turn white, to bleach
sumamâ to become bad
suminsín to become close or compact (as threads in weaving)
tumabâ to become fat
tumamís to become sweet
tumapang to become brave
tumubò to grow
yumaman to become rich

15.1 *Destructive*

bumaríl to shoot
dumurog to pulverize
gumibâ to demolish
pumanà to shoot with bow and arrow
sumuligì to pierce with a dart
sumibát to spear
bumalisóng to strike with a balisong

16.1 *Locational*

dumini to be here
dumito to be here

15.2 *Constructive*

mag-ani to harvest
magbahay to build a house
magbukid to farm
magginatán to make ginatan
maglagà to boil (transitive)
magpinipig to make pinipig
magpunlâ to sow seed
magsaing to cook rice
magsukà to make vinegar
magtaním to plant

16.2 *Instrumental*

mag-araro to plow
mag-awto to ride in an auto

dumiyán to be there (near)
dumoón to be there (yonder)
gumanitó to be in this position (< **gaya nito** - like this)
lumapit to approach
lumayóng to go further away
pumaibabaw to be above, to soar, to be on top
pumailanláng to soar
pumakaliwâ to turn left
pumakanan to turn right
pumalaot to steer into the open sea
pumanaw to disappear
pumarini to come here
pumarito to come here
pumariyán to go there
pumaroón to go there
sumaaatin to be in us
sumakanyá to be in him
sumalangit to be in heaven
sumalahát to be received by all
sumapit to reach a destination
tumabí to step aside
yumao to pass away

This group includes in-
 fixed demonstratives
 (**dini** 'this', **dito**
 'here', **diyán** 'there',
doón 'there'), and in-
 fixed prepositional
 phrases beginning with
pa 'to, on' and **sa** 'to,
 at'. **pasa Maynila** 'to
 go to Manila; **pumasa May-
 nila** 'to go to Manila'.
d between vowels becomes
r.

magkakyâ to wear wooden
 shoes
magbangkâ (mamangkâ) to ride
 in a banca
magbapór to ride on a ship
magbarò to put on a dress
magkalabâw to ride on a
 carabao
magkalesa to ride in a rig
magsalamín to wear glasses,
 to look at one's self in a
 mirror
magsumbrero to wear a hat
magsapatos to wear shoes
magtrák to go by truck
magtrén to go by train

QUANTITY

17. Numeral

magdalawá to be two
mag-ilán to be (no matter)
 how many

mag-isá to be alone (one)

magsandaán to be 100

magsampû to be ten

magsarilí to live alone

18.1 *Partitive*

kumarit to cut with a sickle

lumagarì to saw wood

pumunit to tear

tumanggal to unfasten,
separate

tumastás to detach, dis-
assemble, dismantle

18.2 *Distributive*

mag-abót to hand

mag-abuloy to contribute

mag-ambág to contribute

mag-amot to sell a portion
of what is bought

magbiyayà to give lavishly
as a favour

maghandóg to offer, present

maglakô to offer for sale

III. *mag- plus -um- occur together in tandem on a few words*

19. *Augmentative*

hiyaw shout

maghumiyaw to shout at the top of
one's voice

unat stretch

mag-umunat to stretch one's self to
the limit

iyak cry

mag-umiyak to cry at the top of
one's voice

Note, in conclusion, that those of the foregoing categories which are confirmed by transform tests will constitute authentic lexical patterns, structurally determined.

PHRASES IN TAGABILI

VIVIAN FORSBERG

- 0. Introduction.
- 1. Kernel Phrase:
 - 1.1 Marked Phrase
 - 1.2 Unmarked Phrase.

Key to Abbreviations and Symbols

Ph_k	kernel phrase
Mkr	phrase marker
H	head of phrase
+	obligatory tagmeme
±	optional tagmeme
___:___	tagmeme composed of slot name in first blank with slot filler in second blank following colon
V	verb
N_p	personal noun
N	non-personal noun
$N.S.$	nominal specifier
s-	subjective orientation
st-	stative orientation
o-	objective orientation
d-	directional orientation
i-	instrumental orientation
ca-	causative
se-	associative action
ke-	nominalizer
de-	nearby
sen-	on the other side of
< >	a filler class of which the item enclosed is a member
(---) --- (---)	part of sentence not being illustrated is bracketed by parentheses.

0. INTRODUCTION

A phrase in Tagabili is defined as a tagmeme which typically occurs on the clause level or a tagmeme layered within the phrase level. It may be a single word which is potentially expandable, or it may be a sequence of words consisting of a phrase marker (*Mkr*) plus a potentially expandable head word (*H*).

Since the filler classes of phrase-head tagmemes are homophonous (except for the personal/non-personal dichotomy), a comparison of the phrase-level tagmemes alone does not always give adequately contrasted types. Phrases are often distinguished, therefore, by a comparison of both the phrase-marker tagmemes and the place the phrases fill as clause-level tagmemes.

1. KERNEL PHRASE

The tagmemic formula of a kernel phrase (Ph_k) is:

$$Ph_k = \pm Mkr + H$$

The formula reads that "a kernel phrase consists of an optional marker slot plus an obligatory head slot". The kernel phrase may be divided into two distinct sub-types, marked and unmarked.

1.1 Marked Phrase. A marked phrase and an unmarked phrase contrast as to (1) the occurrence of a phrase-marking tagmeme in the marked phrase, (2) the fillers of the head slot, and, (3) the function.

In the marked phrase, the marker slot is filled by one of the phrase markers *ke*, *bè*, *bélê*, *fi*, *<nim>*, *mò*, or *gunù*. The head slot may be filled by a word or a phrase.

Marked phrases contrast as to (1) fillers of the phrase-marker slot, (2) fillers of the head slot, and, (3) function.

1.11 ke Phrase. A *ke* phrase marker indicates that the phrase it introduces is an uninflected personal phrase which may be the name of a person, a kinship term, or the name of an object which has been personalized in folk stories. A *ke* phrase occurs as the filler of a non-topic object slot in a clause.

The tagmatic formula for the *ke* phrase is:

$$ke\ Ph = +Mkr:ke +H:Np$$

The formula reads that "a *ke* phrase consists of an obligatory marker slot filled by *ke* plus an obligatory head slot

filled with a personal noun". Illustrations: **(Mit) ke Kasi (Teme Ukol)**. '(s-bring-he) the-personal Kasi (grandfather short)' 'Short grandfather will bring Kasi.' **(Tabahu) ke Kasi (blówón)**. '(i-call-I) the-personal Kasi (agong)' 'I'll call Kasi with an agong.' **(Là newitu) ke Kasi**. '(not o-bring-I) the-personal Kasi' 'I didn't bring Kasi.' **(Yem kewit me) ke Kasi, ...** '(that-one ke-bring ours-not-yours) the-personal Kasi' 'When we brought Kasi, ...' **(Segantang hedeku) ke Bé**. '(one-ganta ca-pound-I) the-personal grandmother' 'I had Grandmother pound one ganta.' **(Dalang se) ke Alun, ...** '(same also) the-personal Alun' 'It was the same with Alun, ...' **(Olo Kyol temondo) ke Ibid**. '(only Kyol s-deceive) the-personal Ibid' 'Kyol (type of lizard) was only deceiving Ibid (another type of lizard).'

Only in a double causative clause, when both the object-as-causer and the object-as-actor are specified (which is rare), have two **ke** phrases as clause-level tagmemes been found to occur in sequence. Illustrations: **(Hefféten bè Ting) ke Sanang ke Walan (blókón tum onuk tum Teme Ukol)**. '(ca-ca-tie-he for-the Ting) the-personal Sanang the-personal Walan (vine that-one chicken that-one grandfather short)' 'Short Grandfather had Sanang get Walan to tie the chicken with a vine for Ting.'

The **dou** personal pronoun set¹ substitutes for the **ke** phrase. **(Mit) kul (Teme Ukol)**. '(s-bring-he) them (grandfather short)' 'Short Grandfather will bring them.' **(Tabahu) kul (blówón)**. '(i-call-I) them (agong)' 'I'll call them with an agong.'

The **ke** phrase may be the filler of the head slot of the **<nim>**² phrase (see 1.14) and the **mò** phrase (see 1.15). Illustrations: **Nim ke Fa (deng matay)**. 'this-one the-personal Fa (already st-die)' 'The one for Fa has already died.' **(Ne monu) mò ke Mà Bong, ...** '(and s-say-I) to the-personal father big' 'And I said to Big Father, ...' **Mò ke Bét (yó)**. 'to-the for-the-personal Bét (that)' 'That's for Bét.'

1.12 bè Phrase. The **bè** phrase marker indicates that the phrase it introduces occurs as the filler of the directional slot of a clause and functions either as a locational or a benefactive.

The tagmatic formula for the **bè** phrase is:

$$\text{bè Ph} = +Mkr: \text{bè} +H:N_p/N/ \text{<ni>}^3/\text{<nim>} \text{Ph/dCl}$$

The formula reads that "a **bè** phrase consists of an obligatory phrase marker slot filled by **bè**, plus an obligatory head slot filled by either a personal or a non-personal noun

phrase, a demonstrative of the **ni** set, a <**nim**> phrase, or a dependent clause". Illustrations: (**Tebel me**) **bè Kasi** (**yem kudà**). '(o-leave we-not-you) the-personal Kasi (that-one horse)' 'We left the horse with Kasi.' (**Tungô le**) **bè lan**. '(st-sleep they) the-personal path' 'They slept on the way.' (**Tenóbóngem lu**) **bè kenagì le**. '(o-help-you them) the-personal **ke**-study their' 'Help them in their studying.' (**Deng sentahen**) **bè yó**, ... '(already **sen**-up-it) the-personal that' 'The day after that, ...'

As many as four **bè** phrases have been found to occur in sequence although not all are clause-level tagmemes. Illustrations: (**Slob me**) **bè yó bè gunù bè Mutù Benobu bè seblà Mélé Botu**. '(st-stop-by we-not-you) by-the-personal that at-the-personal house on-the-personal Mutù Benobu by-the-personal across-from Mélé Botu' 'We stopped by there at the house on Mutù Benobu (name of mountain) which is across from Mélé Botu (another mountain).'

A dependent clause introduced by the subordinating particle **ke** 'if' may be the filler of the head slot of a **bè** phrase. Illustrations: (**Kemamó le**) **bè ke wen datù**. '(s-report they) to-the-personal if there-is chief' 'They will report him to a chief if there is one.' (**Là bud hyu mili du**) **ebè ke wen gunù lomi**. 'not again good s-transfer it) towards-the-personal if there-is house new' 'It would not be good to again transfer it to a new house.'

A negated derived stem may be the filler of the head slot of a **bè** phrase. Illustration: (**Henihu**) **bè là klangagu**. '(ca-ask-for-I) for-the-personal not **ke**-sad-my' 'I prayed that I would not be sad.'

A **bè** phrase may be the filler of the head slot of the **fi** phrase (see 1.13). Illustration: **Fi bè gunù onuk** (**yem ebekadu**). 'Beside by-the-personal house chicken (that-one avocado)' 'The avocado tree is right by the chicken house.'

1.12.1 Personal Pronoun Substitute. The **-u** personal pronoun set⁴ substitutes for the head of the **bè** phrase. With pronouns, a variant of the **bè** marker occurs: **bélê**. The tagmatic formula for the **bélê** phrase is:

$$\text{bélê } Ph = +Mkr: \text{bélê } +H: <-u>$$

The formula reads that "a **bélê** phrase consists of an obligatory phrase marker slot filled by **bélê**, plus an obligatory head slot filled by a pronoun of the **-u** set". Illustrations: (**Mekene**) **bélê le**. '(s-eat-I) with-the-personal them' 'I ate with them.' **Bélê le** (**gunu me tungô**). 'the-personal them (please we-not-you st-sleep)' 'With them is the place where we slept.'

A **bè** phrase may occur following the **bélê** phrase. Illustration: (Nui) **bélê le bè Senolon**. '(st-live-you) with-the-personal them at-the-personal Senolon.' 'You live with them at Senolon.'

1.12.2 Demonstrative Pronoun Substitute. There is a demonstrative pronoun set **dini**⁵ which may substitute for the entire **bè** phrase. Semantically it indicates a general area in contrast to a specific area indicated by the **bè** phrase. Illustrations: (Ne uu gena mó hulu) **dini**. '(and you first make plant) here' 'And you be the first one to plant here.' **Ditu (gunu me tungô)**. 'there (place we-not-you st-sleep)' 'There is the place where we slept.'

A **bè** phrase may occur following the demonstrative <**dini**>. Illustration: (Hotun me) **ditu bè mon le "kufil Sual"**. '(ca-go-up we-not-you) there at-the-personal s-say they flat thorns' 'We went up (into a house) there at the place they call "Flat Thorns".'

The **bè** phrase with its pronoun substitutes may occur in sequence in the following order: demonstrative substitute, personal pronoun substitute, **bè** phrase. Illustration: (Nui) **ditu bélê le bè Senolon**. '(st-live-you) there with-the-personal them at-the-personal Senolon' 'Live there with them at Senolon.'

1.12.3 Directional Affix with bè, bélê, <dini>. There is a directional affix **e-** which indicates "motion towards". It may be prefixed to the phrase markers **bè**, **bélê** and to all the members of the **dini** set of demonstratives except **ditu** 'there'. The **tu** 'there' of the **ni** set of demonstratives replaces the **ditu** and occurs with the directional prefix **e-**. Illustrations: (Mung ye do) **ebè Bongu**. '(st-accompany you-all me) toward to-the-personal Bangà' 'Come with me to Bangà.' (Mógowi) **ebéléu**. '(st-go/come-you) towards-me' 'Come to me.' (Mógów ye) **edini**. '(st-go/come you-all) towards-here' 'You all come here.' (Dengi mógów) **etu (kô)**. '(already-you st-go/come) towards-there p_i ' 'Have you gone there already?'

1.13 fi Phrase. The **fi** phrase marker indicates that the phrase it introduces occurs as the filler of the directional slot of a clause and functions as a locational.

The tagmatic formula for the **fi** phrase is:

$$fi\ Ph = +Mkr:fi +H:<dini>/desc\ loc^6/bè\ Ph$$

The formula reads that "a **fi** phrase consists of an obligatory phrase marker slot filled by **fi** plus an obligatory head slot filled by a demonstrative of the **dini** set, a

descriptive locative, or a **be** phrase". Illustrations: (Nù) **fi dini (yem kun teniba Mà, nù) fi ditu (yem ke Bé)**. '(is) direction here (that-one his field father, is) direction there (that-one the-personal grandmother)' 'Father's field is towards here (in this direction), Grandmother's towards there (that way).' **Fi leged (kun gunù nù Témê Ukol)**. 'direction ascending-direction (his place live grandfather short)' 'Short Grandfather lives up yonder (toward the ascending direction).' **Fi bè Kasi (Bét)**. 'direction to-the Kasi (Bét)' 'Bét is (standing) next to Kasi.' **(Tu kem) fi gu dlem (nauy le tum ngà libun)**. '(there plural) direction from nearby-below (o-visit they that-one child girl)' 'Those (folks) from down below, they visited the girl.'

1.14 <nim>² Phrase. The <nim> phrase marker indicates that the phrase it introduces is a specific phrase in contrast to a non-specific phrase. The members of **nim** class of markers are inflected deitic pronouns: **nim**, **yem**, **tum**, and **yum**.

The tagmatic formula for the <nim> phrase is:

<nim>Ph = +Mkr: <nim> +H: N_p / N / V / <ni> / <dou> / mò Ph / ke Ph / Cl

The formula reads that "a <nim> phrase consists of an obligatory marker slot filled by <nim>, plus an obligatory head slot filled with a personal noun, a non-personal noun, a verb, a demonstrative pronoun of the **ni** set, a personal pronoun of the **dou** set, a **mò** phrase, a **ke** phrase, or a clause". A name or a kinship term occurs as the head of a <nim> phrase only when it requires a modifier in order to identify it. Illustrations: **(niten ungé) nim ngà ying nii**. '(o-bring-she rat) this-one child cat right-here' 'This kitten here brought a rat.' **tum Sanang (Yê Bò)** 'that-one Sanang (mother Bò)' 'The Sanang of the mother of Bò'; **tum Témê Ukol** 'that-one grandfather short' 'the grandfather who is short'; **(Tonu) yem kewóten**. '(o-see-I) that-one ke-leave his' 'I saw when he left.' **(Du) yem mógów**. '(he) that-one st-go' 'He's the one who is going.' **(Tilówem) nim ni**. '(o-try-you) this-one this' 'Try this one here.' **(Ni se) yem dou**. '(this p_e) that-one mine' 'This one is mine.' **Yem mó ke Bét (hitem)**. 'that-one for the-personal Bét (black)' 'The one for Bét is black.' **Yem ke Bé (nù dlem)**. 'that-one for-the-personal grandmother (st-is below)' 'Grandmother's is down below.' **(Tonu) yem teninggalen**. '(o-see-I) that-one o-shoot-he' 'I saw the one he shot.'

As many as three clause-level <nim> phrases have been noted to occur in sequence. Illustration: **(Klohen bè Kasi) tum kleb tum suk tum tuha libun**. '(i-weed-she for-the-personal Kasi) that-one gabi that-one knife that-one old woman' 'The old woman is weeding the gabi for Kasi with a knife.'

The <nim> phrase may be a filler of the head slot of both the **bè** phrase (see 1.12) and the **mò** phrase (see 1.15). Illustrations: (**Mógów me**) **bè tum sol kefnit**. '(st-go we-not-you) to-the-personal that-one hole bat' 'We're going to the cave of the bats.' **Mò yem tau fun gunu (yó)**. 'towards that-one person owner house (that)' 'That's for the owner of the house.'

A <nim> phrase which has a negated inflected stem as the filler of the head slot may be a filler of the head slot of a **be** phrase. Illustration: (**Hendemu**) **bè yem là kukét me silà fedyan gena**. '(o-think-I) about-the-personal that-one not ke-pick ours-not-yours corn market before' 'I thought about our not picking corn last week.'

1.15 mò Phrase. A **mò** phrase marker introduces a phrase which functions as an appositional.

The tagmatic formula for the **mò** phrase is:

$$\text{mò Ph} = +Mkr:\text{mò } H:V/<\text{dou}>/\text{ke Ph}$$

The formula reads that "a **mò** phrase consists of an obligatory marker slot filled by **mò**, plus an obligatory head slot filled with a verb, a personal pronoun of the **dou** set, or a **ke** phrase". Illustrations: (**Ne heni le kudà**) **mò senakay yem libun**. '(and ca-ask-for they horse) for-the-personal o-ride that-one girl' 'They asked for a horse which the girl might have for riding.' (**Tenaba le datù él**) **mò hekó des yem tau semlaw**. '(o-call they chief river) towards ca-remove sickness that-one person st-sick' 'They called the chief of the river (spirit) to cure the sickness of the person who was sick.' (**Na sentulón le**) **mò keslai le**. '(and se-o-tell they) towards ke-se-in-law their' 'And they discussed how they would carry out the marriage (their becoming in-laws)' **Mò dou (yó ko)**. 'towards mine (that p_i)' 'Is that one for me?' (**Nim lomi**) **mò ke Fa**. '(this-one new) towards the-personal Fa' 'This new one is for Fa.'

The **mò** phrase may be the filler of the head slot of the <nim> phrase. Illustration: **Yem mò ke Bét (hitem)**. 'that-one towards the-personal Bét (black)' 'The one for Bét is black.'

1.16 gunù⁷ Phrase. A **gunù** phrase marker introduces a phrase which functions as an appositional.

The tagmatic formula for the **gunù** phrase is:

$$\text{gunù Ph} = +Mkr:\text{gunù} = H:V_{s/st}$$

The formula reads that "a **gunù** phrase consists of an obligatory marker slot filled by **gunù**, plus an obligatory head

slot filled with a verb inflected for either subjective or stative orientation".

In the **gunù** phrase, the **-u** set of pronouns is used as actor of the verb phrase head rather than the expected **-e** set of pronouns which regularly occurs with stems inflected for subjective and stative orientation. The actor occurs as an enclitic to the phrase marker. Illustrations: (**Tólóng lowig**) **gunu le emeted⁸ kul**. '(different shelter) place they direction-s-deliver them' 'It was a different shelter to which they delivered them.' (**Yó se**) **gunuhen gel wen skó bè Teboli**. '(that p_e) place-it always there-is **se**-separate in-the Tagabili' 'That's the reason there are always divorces among the Tagabili.' (**Mon tum tau**) **gunuhu temulón du**, ... '(s-say that-one person) place-I s-tell it' 'The person to whom I told it said, ...' (**Gunuhem mon**) **gel lemték semolu kemlo**. '(place-you s-say) always s-thunder s-face s-weed' 'That's the reason it always thunders before weeding (season for weeding).'

1.2 Unmarked Phrase. An unmarked phrase is a word without a marker which functions as a clause level tagmeme, i.e., a phrase. Such phrases occur in three different clause level slots, and their function in any given clause can be identified only by observation of the substitution class of fillers of which they are members plus the participant role with accompanying grammatical function.

Unmarked phrases are of three subtypes: an unmarked noun phrase, an unmarked verbal phrase, and an unmarked specifier phrase.

1.21 Unmarked Noun Phrase. An unmarked noun phrase is divided into two subtypes, an unmarked personal noun phrase and an unmarked non-personal noun phrase.

1.21.1 Unmarked Personal Noun Phrase. The tagmatic formula for the unmarked personal noun phrase is:

$$UnmkdNPh = +N:N_p$$

The formula reads that "an unmarked personal noun phrase consists of an obligatory head slot filled with a personal noun stem". Illustrations: (**Newit**) **Sanang Bé**. '(o-bring) Sanang grandmother' 'Sanang brought Grandmother.' **Sanang (mit ke Kasi)**. 'Sanang (s-bring the-personal Kasi)' 'It was Sanang who brought Kasi.' (**Mit kudà**) **Sanang**. '(s-bring-he horse) Sanang' 'Sanang brought a horse.'

All four of the personal pronoun sets, the **-u**, the **-e**,⁹ the **ou**¹⁰ and the **dou**, may substitute for the unmarked un-

inflected personal phrase, which is to say that these phrases substitute for several different clause-level tagmemes, as stated above. Illustrations: (Eted)-u uu. '(o-deliver)-I you' 'I'll deliver you.' Uu dou (newit). 'you my (o-bring)' 'It is you whom I will bring.' Ou (mit) kul. 'I (s-bring) them' 'I'll bring them.' (Mit)-e kudà. '(s-bring)-I horse' 'I'll bring a horse.'

1.21.2 Unmarked Non-Personal Noun Phrase. The tagmatic formula for the unmarked non-personal noun phrase is:

$$UnmkdNPh = +H:N$$

The formula reads that "an unmarked non-personal noun phrase consists of an obligatory head slot filled with a non-personal noun stem". Illustration: (Newit) ngà ying ungé. '(o-bring) child cat rat' 'The kitten brought a rat.' Ngà ying (mit) ungé. 'child cat (s-bring) rat' 'It was the kitten who brought the rat.' (Mit) ungé ngà ying. '(s-bring-she) rat child cat' 'The kitten brought a rat.' (Benlayem mi) kimón. '(o-give-you us-not-you) ke-obey' 'Give us obedience.'

Unmarked non-personal noun phrases also include time words and locationals. Illustrations: Ekimel (kewót le). 'yesterday-afternoon (ke-leave their)' 'They left yesterday afternoon.' (Nù le) dlem. '(st-live they) below' 'They live below (farther down the mountain).'

The directional prefix which indicates "motion towards" occurs with the locationals. Illustration: (Nit le) edlem. '(o-bring they) P_d -below' 'They brought it below (to a place farther down the mountain).'

The 3rd person singular of the -u and the ou sets of personal pronouns (-en and du respectively) and the ni set of demonstrative pronouns substitute for the unmarked non-personal noun phrase. Illustrations: (Newit)-en ni. '(o-bring)-he this' 'He brought this.' Ni (se mit) du. 'this (p_e s-bring) it' 'It was this one who brought it.'

1.22 Unmarked Verb Phrase. The tagmatic formula for an unmarked verbal phrase is:

$$UnmkdVbPh = +H:V^{11}$$

The formula reads that "an unmarked verbal phrase consists of an obligatory head tagmeme filled by a verb". The filler of an unmarked verb phrase head is either a ne-verb, a me-verb or a #-verb. Illustrations: (Silà) náyô (ngà ying). '(corn) o-want child cat)' 'It's corn the kitten wants.' Máyô (silà ngà ying). 's-want/like (corn child cat)' 'The kitten likes corn.' (Tey) óyô (ngà ying silà). '(very) i-

want/like (child cat corn)' 'The kitten likes corn very much.'

As many as three clause-level tagmeme slots, each filled with an inflected verbal stem, have been noted to occur in sequence. Illustrations: (**Wen tau bong**) **móyo demalang semfala (bè udél Teboli)**' 'there-is person big) s-want s-learn s-read (in-the-personal word Tagabili)' 'There are adults who want to learn to read in Tagabili.' (**Gel**) **lemték semolu kemlo.** '(always) s-thunder s-face s-weed' 'It always thunders before (the season for) weeding.'

1.23 Unmarked Specifier Phrase. The tagmatic formula for the unmarked specifier phrase is:

$$UnmkdSpecPh = +Mod: number +H: pro_{pl} + (N.S.)^r: N_p$$

The formula reads that "an unmarked specifier phrase consists of an obligatory modifier slot filled with a number, plus an obligatory head slot filled with a plural personal pronoun, plus an obligatory nominal specifier (which may be repeated) filled with a personal noun phrase". Illustrations: (**Lemwót Gung ebè Senolon**) **lewu le Yadan.** '(st-start Gung towards to-the-personal Senolon) two them Yadan' 'Gung and Yadan started out for Senolon.' (**Ebuteng kekól le Nib bè ni**) **telu le Gung Ting.** '(last-night arriving their Nib they here) three them Gung Ting' 'Last night Nib, Gung and Ting arrived here.'

NOTES

1. Members of the **dou** personal pronoun set are: **dou** ~ **do** 'me'; **kom** 'you'; **kun** 'him, her, it'; **kum** 'us-not-you'; **kut** 'you and me'; **tekuy** 'us-all'; **kuy** 'you-all'; **kul** 'them'. (**du**, 3rd singular of the **ou** pronoun set, replaces **kun** as filler of an object slot.)
2. Members of the **nim** specific marker set are: **nim** 'this one (here)'; **yem** 'that-one (near)'; **tum** 'that-one (there)'; **yum** 'that-one (distant)'.
3. Members of the **ni** demonstrative pronoun set are: **ni** 'here'; **yó** 'near'; **tu** 'there'; **yu** 'distant'. The vowel may be repeated for distant emphasis: (**ni kem ngà**) **nii** '(this plural child) right-here' 'these children right here'; (**moni gu**) **bè yóó** '(nearby from) st-the-personal right-there' 'from right there nearby.' Without the **bè** locational marker, this demonstrative set may also be used to indicate time: (**Mò kemò tekuy**) **ni?** '(what doing our) now' 'What shall we all do now?' (**Tehe**) **yu (ekni)**... '(remote past) then (distant-this)' 'Once upon a time...'
4. Members of the **-u** personal pronoun set are: **-u** ~ **-hu** 'I'; **-em** ~ **-hem** 'you'; **-en** ~ **-hen** 'he, she, it'; **me** 'we-not-you'; **te** 'you-and-I'; **tekuy** 'we-all'; **ye** 'you-all'; **le** 'they'.
5. Members of the **dini** demonstrative set are: **dini** 'here'; **dyó** 'near'; **ditu** 'there'; **dyu** 'distant'.
6. Members of this class of descriptive locationals are: **leged** 'ascending direction'; **bwak** 'descending direction'; **ta** 'up'; **laan** 'below'.
7. The phrase marker **gunù** has two allomorphs, **gunù** and **gunu**, which are syntactically defined. **Gunù** occurs when the actor which is attracted to it is a name or a kinship term. **Gunu** occurs when the actor is an enclitic pronoun.
8. **Gunù** means 'place where', 'reason why' or 'person to whom'. To avoid ambiguity, 'place where' is identified by the directional prefix **e-** prefixed to whatever immediately follows the actor which is always attracted to **gunù**. Illustration: **Gunuhem emit du du**. 'place-you p_d-s-bring it

p_i 'Where are you bringing it?' **Gunuhem mit du du.**
 'reason-you s-bring it p_d ' 'Why are you bringing it?'

9. Members of the **-e** personal pronoun set are: **-e** ~ **-he** 'I'; **-i** ~ **-hi** 'you'; **#** 'he, she, it'; **me** 'we-not-you'; **te** 'you-and-I'; **tekuy** ~ **kuy** 'we-all'; **ye** 'you-all'; **le** 'they'.

10. Members of the **ou** personal pronoun set are: **ou** ~ **o** 'I'; **uu** ~ **u** 'you'; **du** 'he, she, it'; **mi** 'we-not-you'; **tu** 'you-and-I'; **tekuy** 'we-all'; **yu** 'you-all'; **lu** 'they'.

11. A verb is identified as an inflected stem which may occur as the filler of a verbal predicate slot. It is negated by the negative **la**.

NOUN PHRASE MARKERS IN ABORLAN TAGBANWA

JEAN HUSSEY

0. Introduction.
1. Case-marking function.
2. Contrasts.
3. Demonstrative topic constructions.
4. Locative phrase construction.
5. Included phrases.

0. INTRODUCTION

Noun phrase markers in Aborlan Tagbanwa are particles which introduce the phrases and may be considered as port-manteau signals, simultaneously marking three types of function.

First, the particles mark the relationship of noun phrases to the verb centre. This is the case-marking function of the particles.

Secondly, the particles mark their partners in the constitute as nouns.

Thirdly, the particles mark the following contrastive sets of phrase types: (a) Personal versus Impersonal; (b) Singular versus Plural; and (c) Specific versus General.

In this paper we shall deal with the first and third functions of these particles as well as with the demonstrative topic, locative phrase constructions, and included phrases.

1. CASE-MARKING FUNCTION

There are three noun cases in Tagbanwa: the Topic, the Accessory, and the Directive.

1.1 Topic Case. The clause is divided into two parts, the topic and the comment. A comment minimally consists of a verb centre and optionally expands through other phrase types or substitutes. The topic phrase is marked by an allomorph of the topic marker morpheme <i>.

Magpanaw i bakes.

walk the-monkey
The monkey walks.

Magkatigbas mu i kapa it kayu.

able-cut you the-axe tree
With the axe you are able to cut a tree.

1.2 Accessory Case. A second phrase type is the Accessory marked by an allomorph of the accessory marker morpheme <**it**>. This marks an accessory relationship to the verb or predicate centre. When the accessory phrase is the goal, it usually occurs immediately following the phrase or substantive indicating causer or actor of the action. The accessory phrase also marks the instrument in the action.

Matigbas mu i kayu it kapa kat uma.

cut you the-tree axe in-field
The tree in the field will be cut by you with an axe.

Ipatigbas mu i kapa it kayu kat uma.

cut you the-axe tree in-field
With the axe you cut a tree in the field.

1.3 Directive Case. A third phrase type is the Directive, marked by an allomorph of the directive marker morpheme <**kat**>. This marks a directive relationship to the verb or predicate centre. The directive phrase occurs in position furthest from the predicate in the construction, and indicates location or referent of the action.

Magbakal aku it babuy kat talun.

spear I pig in-forest
I spear a pig in the forest.

Magapyat si Mudistu kat kayu.

climb-up Modesto in-tree
Modesto climbs up in a tree.

2. CONTRAST

There are three sets of contrastive features of the noun phrase marking particles.

2.1 Personal versus Impersonal. The personal marking particles are **si**, **ni**, and **ki** which contrast respectively with the impersonal marking particles **i**, **it**, and **kat**. The markers **si**, **ni**, and **ki** indicate that the partner in the construction so marked is a personal title or name.

Ipatigbas mu si Biug it kayu.

cause-cut you Biog tree

You cause Biog to cut a tree.

Magapyat si Mudistu it niug ni Dikar.

climb-up Modesto coconut Dikar

Modesto climbs Dikar's coconut tree.

Pabari aku it kayu ki Mudistu.

cause-break I tree Modesto

I cause Modesto to break up wood.

2.2 Singular versus Plural. The phrase markers previously described are analyzed as singular markers.

The particles **na**, **kana**, and **manga** indicate plurality of the head of the phrases. The morpheme **na** marks both the topic and accessory phrases as being personal and plural. Context gives the clue as to its particular case function at that particular occasion.

Magapyat si Mudistu it niug na Dikar.

climb-up Modesto coconut Dikar (and companions)

Modesto climbs up a coconut tree of Dikar and his friends.

Magtigbas aku it kayu na Imung.

cut I tree Emong (and friends)

I cut Emong and his friends' tree.

The morpheme sequence **kana**, which breaks down into the morphemes **ka-** and **-na**, marks the directive phrase as being personal and plural.

Tigbasan mu i kayu it yugut kana Imung.

cut you the-tree bolo Emong (and companions)

You cut the tree with a bolo for Emong and his friends.

Patigbas aku kana Imung it kayu.

cause-cut I Emong (and companions) tree

I cause Emong and his friends to cut a tree.

	IMPERSONAL		PERSONAL	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Topic	i	i manga	si	# na
Accessory	it	it manga	ni	# na
Directive	kat	kat manga	ki	kana

Key to the Table, on page 36.

Key to the Table on page 35:

is the zero allomorph of **si** and **ni** and signals a personalized head of the construction.

ka- is the allomorph of **ki** and signals a personalized head of the construction.

Although the particle **manga** is a portmanteau morpheme on the lexical level, we are here dealing with it only in its application as a pluralizer of the noun. (The second lexical function is as an approximator of the head of the construction.)

manga duang elad

about two peso

About two pesos.

The plurals of the impersonal particles **i**, **it**, and **kat** are formed by the addition of the particle **manga** to the interior of the noun phrase, immediately following the case-marking particle.

Magpanigbas ka it manga kayu kat uma.

cut you plural tree in-field

You cut trees in the field.

Tigbasan mu i manga uma.

cut you the-plural field

You cut the fields.

2.3 Specific versus General. The topic phrase is always specific.

Phrases of the general type are marked by the allomorphs of the accessory case-marking particle <**it**> and the directive case-marking particle <**kat**>.

The accessory and directive phrases may have their status changed from general to specific by replacing their respective marking particles <**it**> or <**kat**> with <**i**>.

Tigbasen mu i kayu.

cut you the-tree

You cut the tree.

Tigbasan mu aku it kayu.

cut you I tree

You cut a tree for me.

Magapyat si Mudistu kat kayu.

climb-up Modesto in-tree

Modesto climbs a tree.

3. DEMONSTRATIVE TOPIC CONSTRUCTIONS

The demonstrative pronoun set <ini>, when introducing any noun phrase, substitutes for the impersonal specific marker *i* and occurs preceding the personal specific marker <si>. The members of the <ini> set are *ini* 'this (nearest speaker)', *itu* 'this (near speaker)', *ian* 'that (near hearer)', and *iti* 'that (far from both)'.

iti bakes

that monkey

that monkey

iti manga bakes

that plural monkey

those monkeys

iti si Bakes

that Monkey

that (is) Monkey

iti na Bakes

that Monkey (and companions)

those (are) Monkey and his friends

4. LOCATIVE PHRASE CONSTRUCTION

The locative phrase type construction has as its introducing particle a locative word, such as *duun* 'there', which is a locative pronoun, and is expanded by the addition of an accessory phrase in apposition to the locative introducer.

duun it balay it aka ya

there house elder he

there (at the) house of his elder sibling

5. INCLUDED PHRASES

These topic, accessory, and directive phrases may be included within other phrases to form expansions of the basic phrase types. *nga* is a ligature which functions as a relater, introducing one type of phrase included within the construction of a phrase on a higher level.

i manga balay it aka mu nga dua

the-plural house elder you two

the houses of your two elder siblings

Panawun mu na *i bai nga asawa ku*.

walk you now the-woman wife I

You go now to the woman who is my wife.

Further expansion of the basic phrase types may occur through the addition of the accessory and/or pronoun included phrase types.

i ulu tang *ngaitu*

the-head us this

This our leader

it manga uripen ya ngaiti

plural servant he that
those his servants

Within the interior of the phrases, an included phrase, called a Co-ordinative phrase, may also occur.

punti baw tubu

banana and sugarcane

si Don Juan baw si Don Pidru

Mr John and Mr Peter

The preceding analysis gives the following matrix of noun phrase types. The vertical and horizontal dimensions manifest the following types of contrast: (a) personal versus impersonal; (b) singular versus plural; and (c) specific versus general; and the cells of the vectors are filled with the phrase types.

		IMPERSONAL		PERSONAL	
		<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Specific	Demonstrative Topic	$De_t I$	$De_t I_t Pl$	$De_t P I_{tp}$	$De_t P I_{tappl}$
	Topic	TII_t	$TII_t Pl$	TPI_{tp}	TPI_{tappl}
General	Accessory	$AcII_a$	$AcII_a Pl$	$AcPI_{ap}$	$AcPI_{tappl}$
	Directive	$DiII_d$	$DiII_d Pl$	$DiPI_{dp}$	$DiPI_{dppl}$

Key: Demonstrative Topic (De_t), Topic (T), Accessory (Ac), Directive (Di), Impersonal (I), Personal (P), Pluralizer (Pl), Introducers - **i** (I_t), **it** (I_a), **kat** (I_d), **si** (I_{tp}), **ni** (I_{ap}), **ki** (I_{dp}), **na** (I_{tappl}), **kana** (I_{dppl}).